7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanṛaset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[314] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanṛaset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, [435] and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanṛaset. The trading expedi-

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Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tasiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tasiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tasiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tenaḳas* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tasiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*tefakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[209] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tayda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tayda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *tayda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

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Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]